1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Within the traditional homes the central fireplace provides the only artificial light and heat that the occupants enjoy, although candles and kerosene lamps are gradually being adopted by those who can afford them. Cooking is done at the open fire, often in pots that are suspended by chains. Pottery vessels were formerly the rule, but commercially made iron utensils are now common. Wood is the chief fuel, but straw may be used to build up a refractory fire. Unlike farmers in the United States, who take pride in having neat and ample piles of seasoned wood, the Araucanians have the custom of dragging several large pieces of timber into their yards. Here the wood lies exposed to the weather and, whenever necessary, someone hurries outdoors and chops off a few sticks. Even in the rainy season no attempt is made to store up a large quantity of dry wood. At night, fires are neither extinguished nor kept going. They are generally covered and left smouldering so that they may readily be blown up the next day.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

One of the most striking aspects of a contemporary Araucanian reservation is the absence of any formal distribution of houses: "There are no streets, no central plaza, no stores or public buildings, in short, nothing that suggests the spatial arrangement of a village or town."[17] Not infrequently, houses are built in small clusters of three or four, known as *lofche*, but single dwellings that stand apart are common. As a general rule, each home is within view of several others, but rarely do footpaths connect the structures. This separation has been noted by a number of writers, but it has never been completely explained.

Very likely, the antipathy of the Mapuche for spatial cohesion may originally have been a reflection of their loosely knit social organization, and it may also have been an expression of their deep desire for independence. Then again, during the era of steady fighting such a settlement pattern may doubtless have had strategic significance, for no enemy commander was likely

[17] Titiev, 1949, p. 3.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

to organize large-scale expeditions in order to attack a handful of widely scattered residences. Still, too much separation would have rendered each isolated homestead particularly vulnerable. By way of compromise a system seems to have been worked out whereby houses were erected within sight of one another. This meant that by day smoke signals could be used for summoning help in the event of a raid. The same proximity also gave assurance that at night the sound of the *kullkull* could be heard. A *kullkull* is a simple wind instrument fashioned from a cow horn and used like an army bugle. In case of danger a signal was blown, consisting of two long, two short, and a very long blast. When this was heard men rushed to the nearest road to intercept or attack any raiders. It is not improbable that the scarcity of roads on the reservations also resulted from strategic considerations, as it enabled local defenders to concentrate on a limited number of points.

At the present time the settlement pattern seems to reflect little more than cultural conservatism, combined with the desire of each householder to live in private on his own particular piece of property. The privacy of each residence is greatly respected. Conventionally, no one ever enters the home of another person without an express invitation. Inmates of a house are made aware of a visitor by the barking of their dogs who rush fiercely at a stranger; sometimes a child appears at the door to discover who has come. From a safe distance the caller shouts, "*Mari, mari, papai!*" ("A hundred [greetings] little grandmother!"), or a similar phrase. If the occupants so desire they respond and invite the visitor to come in, but if there is no reply the visitor is expected to go away even if he is aware that someone is home.

The modern Mapuche are not much given to long distance travel. Short journeys may be made afoot, but men, in particular, prefer to ride horseback on longer trips, and they are very much at ease in the saddle. When women have to travel for a considerable distance they generally ride in an oxcart, with a masculine relative or companion as driver. As was previously stated, roads are virtually nonexistent inside a given reserva-

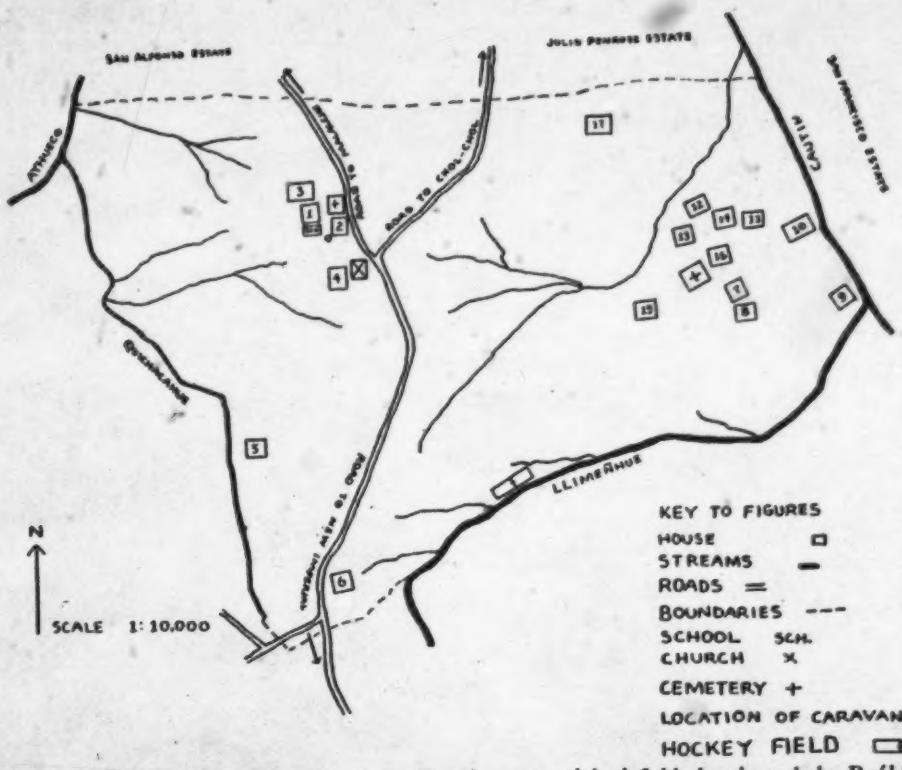

FIG. 4. Cautinche settlement pattern. Based on an original field sketch made by Raúl González. The key also applies to Figures 8 and 9.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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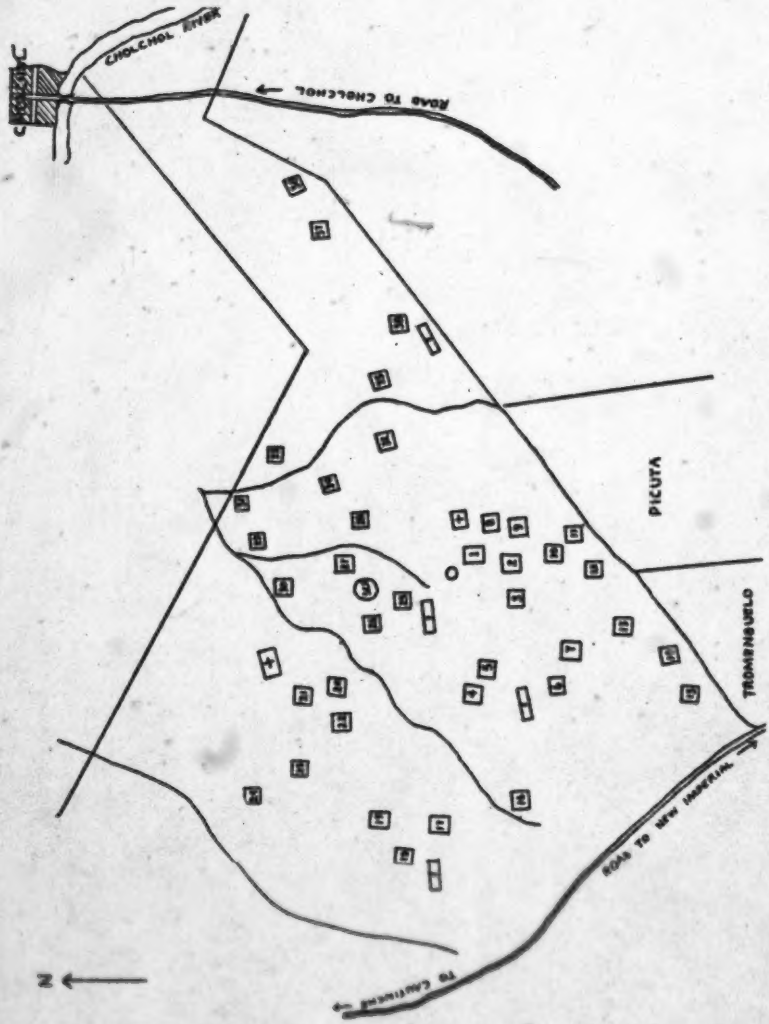

FIG. 8. Carrarriñe settlement pattern. Based on a diagram by Raúl González. Only the houses studied in the text are shown. The key to figures is the same as in Figure 4.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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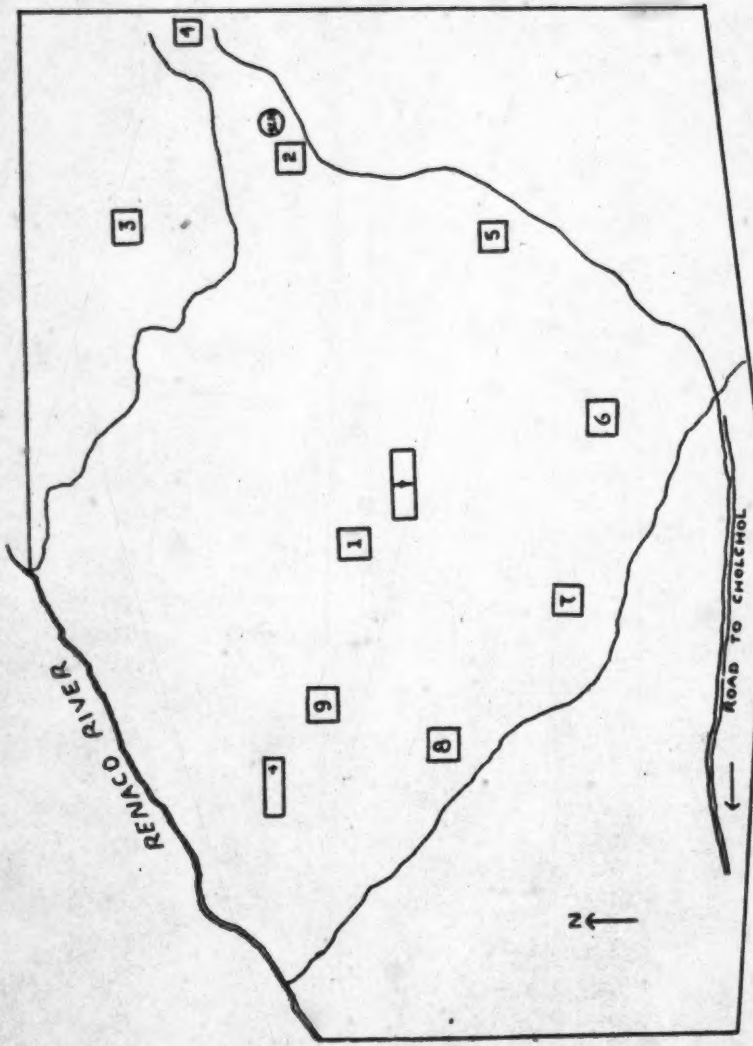

FIG. 9. Renaco settlement pattern. From a diagram by Raúl González. The hockey field near house No. 1 is distinct from the *füllatun* ground near No. 9. See Figure 4 for key to symbols.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

263 [317] Honey, ají, and salt were used as condiments. Salt was obtained from the sea and from Andean salt deposits. Where salt was lacking, as near the Coast, food was cooked in salt water, or plant ashes were substituted. The oil made from madi seeds was much used in cooking. Wild thyme and wild mint were also used as seasoning (Latcham, 1909, p. 341).

252 A great number of different dishes were made. Stews or broths were the more common; e.g., meat and maize, maize and potatoes, beans and grease, etc. A favorite dish was made of potatoes allowed to rot a couple of months in stagnant water. Another favorite was apoll, parboiled lungs of an animal so slaughtered that they filled with blood. Raw blood of cattle was drunk or eaten coagulated.

264 **Eating.**—Fast was broken in the morning with the maize (or wheat) flour drink mentioned above. In early times, two meals a day were customary, the first just before noon, the second at dusk, according to some sources (Barlaeus, 1647, p. 268), but not all. (Cf. Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285.) 415 Round wooden plates and spoons of wood or bivalve shells were used at meals. Gourds served as cups. The pottery plates and the wooden or clay cups with handles appear to be more 352 recent. There were no tables; the *Mapuche-Huilliche* ate sitting on the ground.

264 The men ate together; the women ate apart from them. The wife placed food before her husband, but he did not eat till she told him to do so. It was likewise bad manners for a guest to start eating before being told by his host to do so. At a fiesta, it was a grave discourtesy for a guest to leave his plate not wiped clean (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:152, 154).

SETTLEMENTS AND DWELLINGS

361 **Settlements.**—The *Mapuche-Huilliche* lived, not in villages proper, but in settlements. Each settlement was made up of a number, usually small, three to eight or more, of families or households, each in its own dwelling. The households or homesteads were set up within sight of but at appreciable distances from one another—for fear, it was reported earlier, of witchcraft (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:150–51) or of poisoning (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 48)—and each settlement or loose cluster of households was separated by somewhat greater distances from the nearest ones. The settlements were located [621] mostly in valleys or plains along streams and rivers. Generally speaking, each settlement was made up of kin (Marcgrav, 1648, p. 285) and had its own cacique. Some of the forts, settlements, or 712 dwellings appear to have been surrounded with a kind of palisade. (Ercilla, canto 1, 1910, p. 8; Mariño de Lovera, 1865, p. 130; Tribaldos, 1864, p. 21).

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Some aspects of Spanish-Araucanian warfare indicate reasons for possible changes in settlement pattern and the composition of social aggregates. For example, disruptions caused by adverse military encounters began for the Araucanians around Santiago, in the Picunche region, and spread north and south from there. When the Picunche were fighting Spanish troops during the first few years of the Chilean colonization, socio-economic arrangements underwent considerable change. The riverine groups left their farming sites for a semi-nomadic existence in the hills and bush. Some migrated south of the Bio-Bio River and took refuge with the Mapuche. There is good evidence to show that the larger kin groups broke up into segments which could better support themselves by occasional small harvests of maize and collection of wild seeds and roots (Pedro de Valdivia 1861:4). From time to time these scattered groups banded together in larger numbers than had formerly comprised the agricultural settlements, but only to carry out raids against the Spanish settlement of Santiago. This situation—the breakup of residential units and the massing of large attacking forces—has striking parallels with the one which existed for several centuries south of the Bio-Bio River in the territory of the Mapuche. In this respect, therefore, warfare seems not to have fostered the development of stronger patrilineal organization. Warfare and the migrations it engendered seem to have resulted in an instability in the smaller social aggregates. There was reorganization and solidifcation on the politico-military level, while the smaller units of the population, as reflected in the kinship terminology of Diagrams 1 and 2, were less afected in both rate and degree of change.

Although patrilineal tendencies were strengthened as the centuries wore on and warfare diminished, there is no reason to assume that such development was uniform either in rate or in regional distribution. Nevetheless, patrilocality and patrilineality generally appear very strong in later times.

Let us turn now from features related to patriliny to a consideration of other features of the kinship system. Diagram 3 is a composite of terms collected by Latcham (1924), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), Félix José (1907, 1916), and Moesbach (1936). All worked in Cautín Province: Latcham near Temuco and Cholchol; Félix José in several parts of the Province; Guevara Silva near Temuco and also in the Province of Valdivia; Moesbach at Lago Budi along the Pacific Coast.

There is a gap of about four or five generations between the observations of Havestadt and those of Latcham and his contemporaries. During this time the kinship structure and over-all social organization underwent certain changes, the most striking of which is a weakening of the generation principle: WiBrDa marriage appears reflected in the terminology in strong association with patrilineality, tending toward expression of the Omaha pattern.

On Ego's generation parallel-cousins are called siblings, but cross-cousins, while differentiated from them and from Ego's siblings, are still not handled in the Omaha manner. An exception, however, is that MoBrDa is called "mother," a direct reflection of the cross-generational WiBrDa marriage. There are in-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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361
417

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482

000

Habitation areas, present and past: 1, A homestead in Quilaquina on Lago Lacar with fenced-in barnyard and garden. Tall building at right is the dwelling; tall building at left, the barn; other buildings used mostly for storage. 2, Boys returning from school to the home shown in figure 1 with armfuls of dry twigs and branches to be used as firewood. 3, Two groves of very old apple trees and scattered apple trees at earlier sites of Araucanian homesteads (Collón Curá area).

[p. 268(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Argentina

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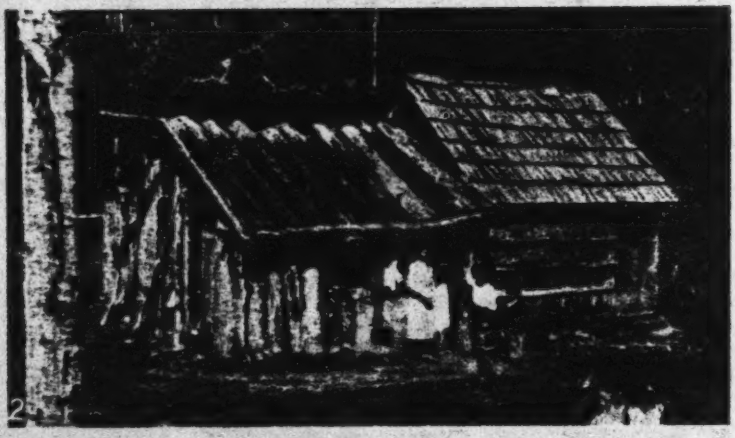

[854]
[415]

Pilpil: 1 and 2, A 2-room dwelling, and 3, its occupants, a mother and her five children.

[p. 268(G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

641 The Araucanians today are Argentine citizens with the privileges and obligations of citizenship. Their births are recorded in the general 648 registry along with all Argentines. Like all adult residents of Argentina, they hold registered identification cards issued by the police: men, a Libreta Enrolamiento; women, a Libreta Cívica. Araucanians voted in the presidential election of 1951, Argentine women and Indians of all Argentina casting votes for the first time in such an election. Araucanians, like all citizens, must have a permit to leave the country; they pay taxes; they have the right to attend public schools; all laws are applicable to them, as to all other citizens of Argentina. Their particular interests and problems come under the jurisdiction of the Ministerio de Interior in Buenos Aires.

LAND, SUBSISTENCE, AND TRADE

LAND TENURE, GRAZING, WEALTH

423 As already stated (pp. 346-347), a cacique and his people laid claim to all the lands in a specific area. The people occupied only a section of the area at a time. Within the section each family had the exclusive use of a piece of land, which was recognized by all other families in the group. (Pls. 63, *4*; 64; 67, *3*; 75, *3*.) To a degree, then, it is probably correct to say that in the early days private ownership of land existed.

361 Grazing lands not in use at a particular time were owned in common. 423 When herds had depleted the pasturage of a section, the cacique gave 484 orders for the people to move to a new grazing section. "Everyone got ready then to move," said Kolupan. "Sometimes we had been in a place for a year or two." The women collapsed the toldos—the last thing to be done. They rolled the hide coverings around the poles of the framework and put them and other movable property on pack horses. Soon everything was on its way. Kolupan sat reminiscing, and noted with a pleasant smile, "Yes, in those days we moved wherever we wanted to move to." Then he added, somewhat vindicatively, "It is not that way today!"

648 Sporadically, in the 1880's, the Argentine Government through its military organization took possession of more and more land claimed by the Araucanians. The Araucanians, unable to resist the Argentine cavalry, moved farther and farther into the Andes. Even there the boundaries of their lands continued to be narrowed, especially so between 1895 and 1903. In the early 1900's the Argentine Government laid claim to all Araucanian lands, and then gave each cacique a specific area for his people. The cacique in turn gave the head of each family

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

around the olla (or iron kettle, today) in which the food had been cooked, or the large wooden dish from which each served himself. Many families squat in similar manner today; an occasional one eats seated at a table.

Women cooked the meals. Today, as formerly, an old woman when cooking follows the tradition of wearing her shawl. No reason for this was known.

Drinking water was taken from an uncontaminated spring, either at its source or from a creek formed by it and known to be uncontaminated. (Pls. 62, *1*; 72, *1*.) Homes were located only where there was an uncontaminated source of water.

Beverages in the early days consisted of mudai and of refreshing decoctions made from leaves and blossoms of paico and bark of maqui. Mudai was made by fermenting quinoa and neneo, cultivated small grain and corn, or araucaria nuts. These were either chewed by older women or crushed on a metate and then allowed to stand until fermented. Mudai is rarely drunk as a beverage today; if it is, it is made from cooked wheat.

Chicha (pulku), an alcoholic drink, was made of berries of mulwin (unidentified), parrilla, and michai, and of wild apples. A 70-year-old man had made chicha from apples in the following way, a way used in making chicha from berries also: Apples were picked, placed in a 5- to 6-yard-long dugout, and immediately mashed by hitting them with poles. The dugout was made of hardwood, generally roble. The mashed apples were poured into calfskin containers in which holes had been previously poked, and the containers hung over the dugout. Each container was then pressed between two poles to force the flow of juice, which was retained in unperforated calfskin containers until it became chicha.

I observed a 59-year-old woman making chicha from berries of parrilla and michai. "I can pick these berries everywhere in the valleys of these mountains; I have no way of getting wild apples." She mashed bowlfuls of the berries by hand and poured them into an unperforated hide container that she had made by fastening the ends of the hide to two poles a short distance apart. As soon as the juice had fermented to suit her taste, she pressed a finely woven külko (basket) into the mash and let the juice collect in it. Since Argentine law today requires a permit for the making of chicha, little of it is made by Araucanians; wine has replaced chicha.

A favorite beverage today is yerba maté, a non-Araucanian tea made of imported leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*. It is taken by adults and

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

A 361
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A 133
C A [491] [496] [361]
A 648 175

from the forests by oxcart and truck to be cured at railroad sidings before shipment to Temuco and beyond.

Lakes Villarrica and Budi are the largest bodies of water in the province. Lake Budi is saline. Both lakes are fished commercially, mostly by Chileans. Two major river systems – the Cautín-Imperial in the northern part of the province and the Toltén in the south – cut across Cautín Province from east to west. Along these rivers are all-weather roads, spur lines from the central railroad, and towns.

Mapuche territory was first reduced through force of arms, after many unsuccessful attempts, and, after pacification, has been reallocated through the force of political action. Some of the important steps in this process are clearly revealed in documented history. I would like to indicate a few of these in a general historical statement about Mapuche society.

HIGHLIGHTS IN THE HISTORICAL RECORD

The earliest reports about the Mapuche are found in Peruvian chronicles, as a result of Inca interest in colonizing central Chile and Peruvian-based Spanish attempts to succeed where the Inca had failed. But well-documented Mapuche history begins only after the middle of the sixteenth century, when the Spaniards had constructed garrison settlements in Chile and came into sustained contact with the Indians south of the Bío Bío River. The Spaniards quickly defeated the sparse Picunche (northern Araucanian) population and absorbed them into the sphere of colonial society which radiated from Santiago. Within the first century of colonization the Picunche had ceased to exist as a distinct social or ethnic entity.[2]

When the Spaniards attempted to extend their control over the Mapuche, they met with initial success. Vast encomiendas were granted to deserving conquistadores, and placer mines around Concepción, Imperial, and Villarrica were worked for gold by Indian labor. The rigors of encomienda life were such that in 1562, after a number of local skirmishes, the Mapuche staged their first general uprising and drove the Spaniards to the periphery of their territory. For more than 200 years afterward the Mapuche were considered fair game for puni-

[2] Details of colonization in the jurisdiction of Santiago, involving a consideration of the systems of *encomienda*, *mita*, *reducción*, and *corregimiento*, are synthesized in Faron, 1960:259–307.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

RESERVATIONS

It is certain from the earliest historical reports that the Mapuche were horticulturalists, and that they had many llamas. It seems that their economy was one of sufficiency, although the fact that they utilized such a large number of wild plants might attest to a lack of variety in farmed produce or recurring times of scarcity. But we know nothing of the extent to which wild plants were used or, indeed, if there was not a much greater dependence upon them only after the turbulent period of continual Spanish-Mapuche warfare got under way.

Cooper (1946:700) lists more than twelve different food plants which were grown before the arrival of the Spaniards in central Chile. Most of these crops had a general Andean distribution, and included maize, potatoes, beans, squash, chili peppers, quinoa, oca, and several seed plants resembling barley. These crops are still grown by the Mapuche, although oca and quinoa are raised in very small amounts and have a spotty and limited distribution. Of all these plants, maize and potatoes (mainly Western varieties) have most importance today, but wheat, oats, barley (very little rye), and beans, peas, and garden vegetables such as onions and tomatoes have been added to the Mapuche inventory. They have been grown in increasingly greater amounts since the reservation system was instituted.

It is misleading to think of the aboriginal Mapuche as field farmers, since the equipment for this sort of cultivation was not available to them until during the colonial period. Small gardens and desultory cultivation were consonant with small, shifting population aggregates. Field farming was introduced with oxen, as it was throughout Chile. Field cultivation, as distinguished from garden horticulture, seems only to have been in evidence where contacts with Spaniards were sustained. Even today, a Mapuche farmer unable to avail himself of a plough and oxen plants only a garden of maize, beans, and other vegetables by means of a hoe and dibble. Not until the nineteenth century do accounts of Mapuche agriculture convincingly describe field farming. It is likely that during most of the troubled colonial period, the Mapuche remained small-scale cultivators, depending also on wild plants and the meat of horses, cattle, sheep, llamas, and guinea pigs to supplement their crops.

In prereservation times horticulture was essentially woman's occupation. The male role was that of warrior. It required fighting fit-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	*c.* 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	*c.* 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	*c.* 4 ha.
Montero	300	102	*c.* 3 ha.

Pelehue

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	193	54	*c.* 3.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	*c.* 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	*c.* 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	*c.* 2 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	*c.* 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	*c.* 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	*c.* 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

Ill:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Padilao	181	53	c. 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	48	c. 6.3 ha.
Huenchoeul	109	88	c. 1.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

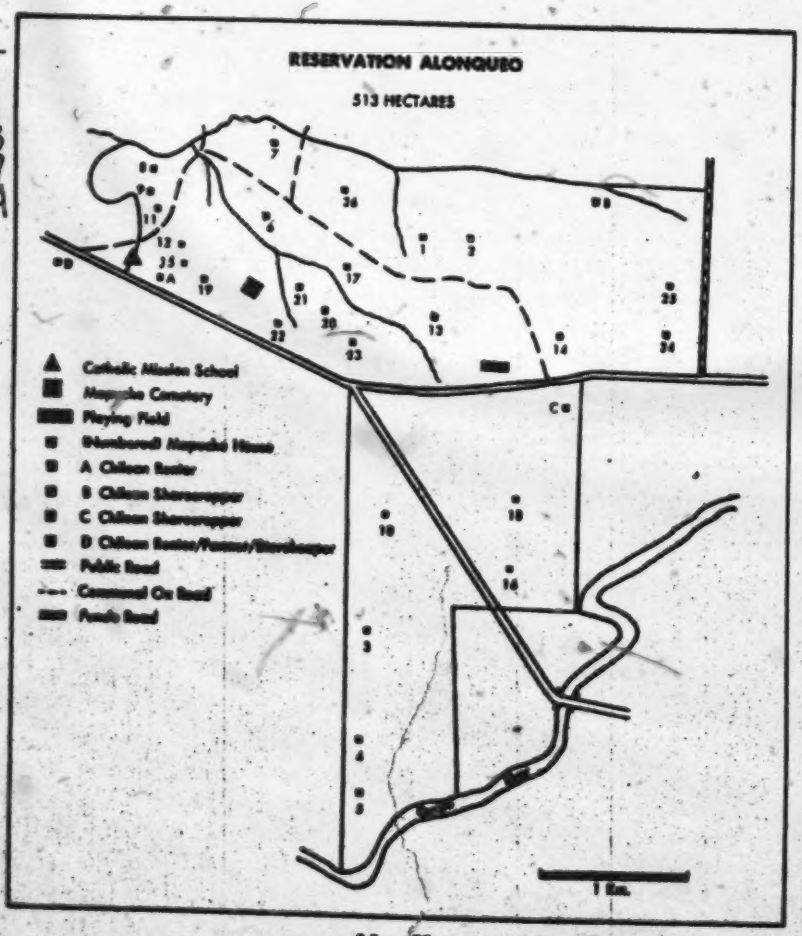
At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

in lower yields per hectare, especially during the past few decades. Furthermore, there has been an unequal accumulation of land, largely through the chances of inheritance, which has accentuated the situation beyond the inferences which might be drawn from the average figures given in the table above. Of the total 513 hectares, more than half are controlled by four families: the chief controls 100, another resident 46, and two others 50 and 40 each. Some families control only from 5 to 7 hectares. The political aspects of this situation will be discussed.

The general tendency throughout Araucanía is that land becomes



MAP II

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[i.e. Llancaman-- Analyst]

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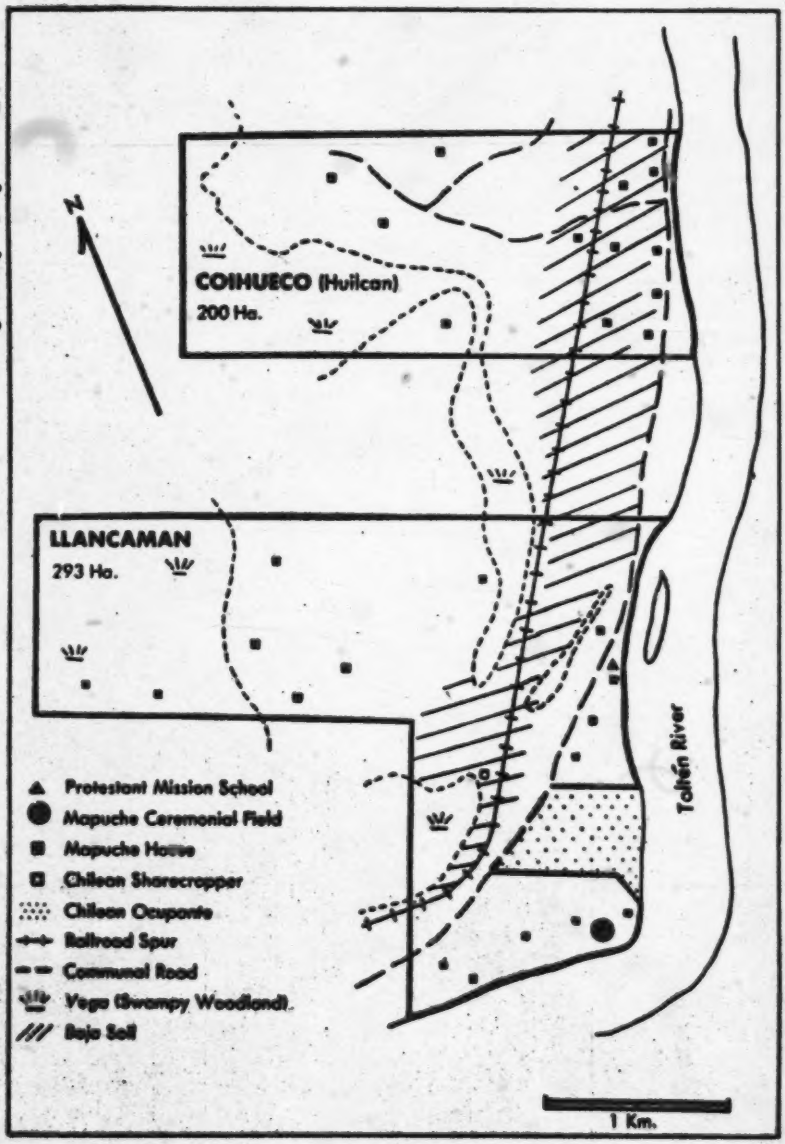

MAP III

[p. 36]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,308; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,102 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today — in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent solidary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e. a woman who re-established residence in her natal group — ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

as by others who recognize that it would, in the absence of a strong chief, contribute to factionalism and community disharmony.

Some of the sublineages are more tightly integrated than others, and certain branches are more closely linked or allied than others. These differences, manifest in tensions and expressions of both hostility and indifference, are partly the result of reservation limitations on physical mobility. In prereservation times, discord among members of a *lofche* was alleviated by one segment detaching itself and moving away, a solution no longer feasible.

According to tradition, Huentemil, beyond whom there is no exact recollection, headed a polygynous compound which consisted of several households. He is said to have lived in the largest of these along with two wives and their children and close relatives. His other three wives had dwellings of their own, where they raised their children. This living arrangement, which is still encountered in Araucanía, is rationalized as the best one for maintaining harmonious relations within a polygynous family. There was no budding off of households in this instance, the group living in close contact in a *lofche* arrangement.

When Huentemil's sons married and began having children of their own, the compound and surrounding farmland became crowded. There is no tale of a dispute among the brothers or between them and their father. The account relates that Alonso, the original chief of the reservation, moved into the present area (near *rukas* 1 and 2 on Map II). Other brothers also moved out from the parental home to clear new land and build houses for their wives and children. This movement occurred in a time of relative peace between the Chileans and the Mapuche of this region (between 1870 and 1880). If certain segments of Huentemil's *lofche* moved farther away, nothing of them is remembered. There seems to have been continual and frequent contact among the offshoots of the group, and the impression is that Huentemil's authority over them was maintained.

There is nothing about the original settlement pattern which serves to illuminate social relationships on the reservation today. The original occupation of the area was north of the communal road, and was made up of the households of Alonso and some of his brothers. Those of their sons who remained on the reservation either lived in their parental households or near them, or else moved out to the south and southeast within reservation limits. After the population increased, it is likely that the dispersion would have been greater had it not

[See CAT. 116, P. 32 -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *titulo* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cap. 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

INTRODUCTION

THE Mapuche occupy an area in southern central Chile between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains, an area roughly the size of the state of Delaware, and have an estimated population of just under 250,000. The region in which they live is called *Araucania* or *La Frontera* and, in terms of settlement, is composed of about 2,200 small Mapuche reservations, numerous Chilean farms, and a few towns and cities. While the reservations form large blocks in this area, they are broken into sectors by Chilean holdings, as indicated on the line map, the area of the most dense Mapuche occupation.

The Mapuche constitute one of the largest functioning indigenous societies in South America and are quite distinctive culturally and socially from Chileans. Their history has revolved around warfare, land usurpation, and, more recently, the dissolution of many reservation communities under pressure exerted by Chilean colonists. For centuries the Mapuche have lost territory to Chilean settlers. They were defeated in the Rebellion of 1880–82, and their politico-military organization was undermined. They no longer roam over a vast territory, raiding whites and other Mapuche. They have been immobilized on small reservations, and are dependent on field agriculture. In spite of these socially disruptive forces, the Mapuche have maintained a great measure of cultural and social integrity. These forces have not caused traditional Mapuche life to disappear; rather their effect has been to weld Mapuche society into a more complex structure than existed in prereservation times.

Having withstood more than four hundred years of persistent efforts at colonization and missionization, the Mapuche, understandably, have experienced cultural and social change. They have undergone continual readaptation and reintegration during their four centuries of contact with whites. They now form a vigorous and, because of a growing political awareness, a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

SOUTHERN CENTRAL CHILE
Cautín Province

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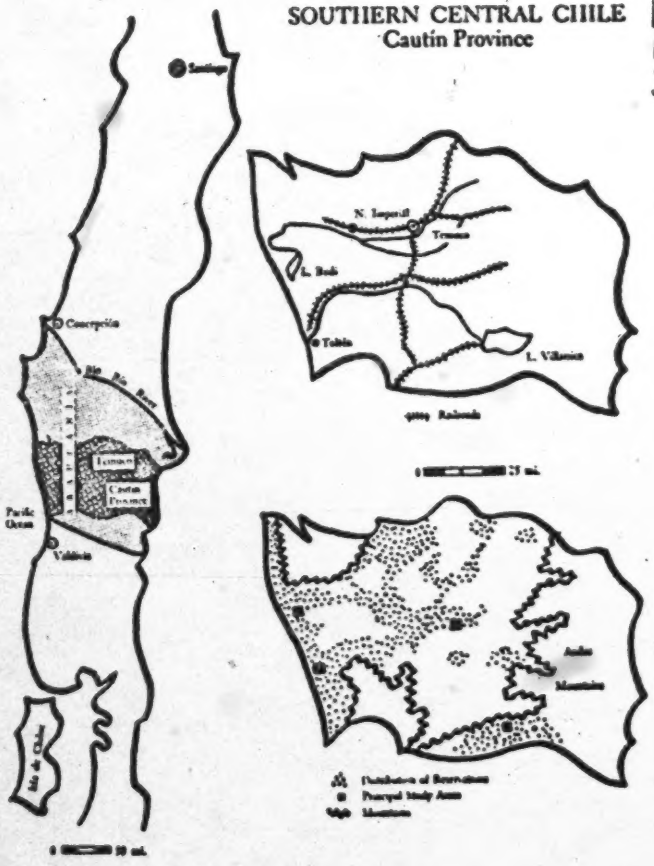

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A 439 609 Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

T A 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimè arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 224 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Esgel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

A 411 The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakou, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

T A 439

was late and disturbances might occur, he considered it would be better not to allow any liquor to be sold until the following day, when all arms might be stored in a safe place, and anybody who felt disposed to get drunk might do so with comfort. To this Casimiro agreed, further assuring me, in the most positive manner, that *he* would keep sober. Whilst we were sitting by the fireside, a bird, exactly resembling our well-known nightjar, flew over our heads, uttering its peculiar grating cry; the Indians all looked startled, asserting that it was a sign of ill luck, and that whenever this bird croaked in the vicinity of an assembly of people some one was sure to fall sick or die. Their superstitious belief in the ill-omened bird received a confirmation, for in the middle of the night, while asleep by the fire, I was roused by Graviel, who, shaking my arm and shouting 'Let us go, let us go!' rushed away from the firelight into the dark night. His father and myself followed him, and after a long chase caught and, with difficulty, mastered him. He was raving mad, struggling violently, and vociferating incoherent nonsense. When the fit had passed off, his exhaustion and prostration were so great that all thought he would die; but he recovered for the time.

T A 787 825

T [158]

A 361

At break of day we were all on the alert; and as the evening previously we had been too tired and hungry to observe the scenery, I proceeded to reconnoitre the locality generally. To my great surprise, the head-quarters of Cheoeque consisted but of four toldos, belonging to the chief and his brother-in-law, the men who had received us having come from distant residences unaccompanied by their wives, and bivouacking, like ourselves, in the open air. The scene of the encampment was a valley running east and west, the western end being apparently shut in by some high mountains, spurs of the Cordillera. A good stream watered this valley, which was everywhere more or less wooded: away to the north-west, about four miles distant, the apple-groves might be seen; these trees had, however, already been

T A 133 137

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

stripped of fruit, and it was necessary to proceed much farther to the north to procure any; but an expedition to visit that district and to get fruit, planned by Orkeke, Hinchel, myself, and others, proved impracticable. Beyond the apple-groves the place was also pointed out where the araucarias grow, from which the piñones are gathered, just below the snow-clad mountains we had viewed from the ridge above the Rio Limay, and about thirty miles distant.

In our valley the pasture was rather scanty, although there appeared to be sufficient for the three flocks of small sheep, each owned by one of Cheoeque's wives, to get into good condition; but sheep will feed anywhere. Immediately behind the toldos was situated a corral for enclosing cattle, none of which, however, were visible, having, probably, been driven off to some secluded valley near at hand, to avoid giving our people a chance of helping themselves. Round this corral were grouped the Indians of Cheoeque's tribe, and the Picunches with fruit, &c., to barter; and between the corral and the river lay the bivouac of the Tehuelches; our fireside being denoted by Casimiro's flag, the colours of the Argentine Confederation. Up and down the valley, and even about the neighbouring hills, were scattered our horses.

Proceeding to inspect the toldos, at which I had given but a cursory glance the night before, I found that they were all fixed dwellings; that is to say, not put together so as to be moved in marches, like those of the Patagonians. They were, indeed, constructed in the same manner, but the poles were much stouter, and the whole edifice more resembled a house.

Cheoeque's toldo was quite sixteen feet high, and able to accommodate forty men; while three fires of huge billets of wood burned in the front part. It was closed in completely, except a doorway in the corner with a skin curtain by way of door; and along the front ran a species of verandah, composed of interwoven branches, forming a pleasant canopy, under the shade of which we sat and